Shepherd, J., Harden, A., Rees, R., Brunton, G., Garcia, J., Oliver, S. & Oakley, A. (2006) Young people and healthy eating: a systematic review of research on barriers and facilitators, *Health Education Research*, 21(2), 239–257.

Shilling, C. (1991) Educating the body: physical capital and the production of social inequalities, *Sociology*, 25(4), 653–672.

Shilling, C. (1993) *The body and social theory* (London, Sage).

Shilling, C. (1997) The body and difference, in: K. Woodward (Ed) *Identity and difference* (London, Sage), 63–107.

Sothern, M. S. (2004) Obesity prevention in children physical activity and nutrition, *Nutrition*, 20s(7–8), 704–708.

Thompson, A. M., Rehman, L. A. & Humbert, M. L. (2005) Factors influencing the physically active leisure of children and youth: a qualitative study, *Leisure Studies*, 27, 421–438.

Vander Wal, J. & Thelen, M. (2000) Eating and body-image concerns among obese and average-weight children, *Addictive Behaviours*, 25(5), 775–778.

Wilkinson, S. (1998) Focus groups in health research, *Journal of Health Psychology*, 3(3), 329–348.

Wilkinson, S. (2004) Focus group research, in: D. Silverman (Ed) *Qualitative research: theory, method and practice* (London, Sage), 177–199.

Williams, G. & Popay, J. (1994) Lay knowledge and the privilege of experience, in: J. Gabe, D. Kelleher & G. Williams (Eds) *Challenging medicine* (London, Routledge), 118–139.

Wills, W., Backett-Milburn, K., Gregory, S. & Lawton, J. (2006) Young teenagers' perceptions of their own and others' bodies: a qualitative study of obese, overweight and 'normal' weight young people in Scotland, *Social Science & Medicine*, 62, 396–406.

Wright, J. (2001) Gender reform in physical education: a poststructuralist perspective, *Journal of Physical Education New Zealand*, 34(1), 15–25.

Wright, J. & Dean, R. (2007) A balancing act: problematising prescriptions about food and weight in school health texts, *Journal of Didactics and Educational Policy*, 16(2), 75–94.

Wright, J. & Harwood, V. (Eds) (2009) *Biopolitics and the obesity epidemic: governing bodies* (London, Routledge).

Wyn, J. & White, R. (1997) *Rethinking youth* (London, Sage).

The attitudes and opinions of high school sports participants: an exploratory empirical examination

Douglas Hartmann*, John Sullivan and Toben Nelson
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, USA

Sport scholars and public commentators have long held both positive and critical opinions about the influence of athletic involvement on participants and their perceptions of the social world. Yet for all of the strong claims and deeply held assumptions, relatively little empirical data or social scientific analysis have been available. This study begins to address this deficiency using new data from a nationally representative survey of American high school students. We compare sports participants and their peers in terms of concern for social problems, interracial contact and attitudes, views of gender roles and sex-based discrimination and political orientation. We find participants and non-participants differ very little in their social concern and views of gender roles and sex-based discrimination, while significant differences were found in levels of interracial contact, views on race relations and political orientation. In view of these findings, we make some general conclusions about the social influence of sport in the lives of American youth and how this topic may be further explored in subsequent work.

Introduction

Sport is commonly believed to be a formative experience for the more than 25 million young Americans who participate, not only for athletic development, but also in terms of socialization, character building, educational and social attainment. The impact of athletic participation on healthy lifestyles,[1] education and academic achievement,[2] delinquency and deviance,[3] and later life attainments, social mobility and civic participation[4] has been widely studied. Indeed, the social effects of high school sport participation may be the single most prolific body of work in the field of sport studies. Yet for all this work, findings about the social consequences and impacts of athletic involvement have been largely and fundamentally mixed.[5] While some studies show sport can have pro-social benefits, others have found that sport participation can have negative effects. And while extensive ethnographic and qualitative work has elucidated mechanisms and dynamics on both sides of the

*Corresponding author. Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, 909 Social Science Tower, Minneapolis, MN 55455, USA. Email: hartm021@umn.edu

question, the lack of more general data and analysis has made it difficult to know how to generalize or assess how these effects may vary by social background and context.

Research into the attitudes and opinions of athletes has suffered from all of these shortcomings and limitations, perhaps even more than other research areas. Whereas claims about the behavioral effects of sport participation have yielded conflicting and uneven results, at least a fairly large number of data sources have been available for such analysis. The data needed for testing claims and assumptions about sport and the social outlook of student athletes have been literally non-existent.

Nevertheless, sport is commonly believed to have powerful character-building and behavior-shaping capabilities (Coakley, 2002, p. 15), capable of transmitting attitudes and values through contact with teammates, opponents, coaches and parents (Eitzen & Sage, 1978) and through the challenges and dialogs inherent to organized play (Simon, 1991). Two prominent and somewhat polar theoretical conceptions have often been employed in both popular and scholarly understandings about the impact of sport participation on attitudes and beliefs, and thus can provide a useful orientation to research on this topic. One associates sport with the dominant values of society, while the other links sport participation to social change.

In the first view 'sports merely reflect and perhaps reinforce adherence to the dominant values of the wider society ... sports serve a conservative social function. They express the values of the wider culture and perhaps socialize participants and spectators to accept those values as their own' (Simon, 1991, p. 16). The values of hard work, effort, diligence, delay of gratification, social Darwinism and prestige of success are believed to be reinforced through sport. Here, sport is a reflection of a capitalist meritocracy that emphasizes competition, fame and individual sports heroes and reinforces the belief systems of the economic institution and a conservative political ideology (Petrie & Reid, 1972; Eitzen & Sage, 1978). Socializing participants with an emphasis on independence and competitiveness (Kleiber & Roberts, 1981) reflects conservative market visions. Conservative and meritocratic arguments claim sport functions to enforce existing social structures and dominant values systems.

The second conception contends that sport 'can be an independent basis for criticism of the wider culture and, depending upon the morality dominant in the rest of society, can be a force for social change' (Simon, 1991, p. 17). In this view, sport can function as moral and ethical education, imbuing young athletes with respect for teammates and opponents alike, the rule systems that guide their interaction, and the importance of meeting challenges. Or, as Coakley has argued (1993, 2002), an athlete's orientation to the world can empower him or her personally and politically rather than indoctrinate that individual into established social orders (see also Simon, 2003).

While these two approaches to the impact of sports participation on the development of youth are by no means exhaustive of scholarly understandings of the functions of sport in society, we use them here to frame an exploratory analysis of the attitudes and opinions of youth sport participants. We use these alternative conceptions, in other words, to frame our empirical examination of the attitudes and opinions of athletes as they compare to those of their peers. We use our findings to

shape a discussion about the attitudinal consequences of sport participation for high school students.[6]

The data in this paper come from an analysis of the 2006 Monitoring the Future data set, a nationally representative survey of American high school students.[7] The MTF study, conducted by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan, has surveyed high school students on behaviors, attitudes and values for over three decades. The survey form used here includes nearly 2500 high school seniors and asks about a range of social issues.

Our analysis compares the social and political attitudes of sports participants and their non-participant peers on four issue categories compiled from MTF survey questions. The first question set examines level of concern for social problems including environmental and energy issues, urban decay, crime and violence and war; the second, student's attitudes toward women in terms of adherence to traditional sex role ideologies and belief in sex-based discrimination; the third, interracial contact and perceptions of race relations; and fourth, general political orientation.

A literature review will highlight important and relevant work, then the data and methods will be described. The main body of the paper will then present our findings and analyses. We conclude with a general summary and a discussion of the implications of the results and make suggestions for more comprehensive and grounded research.

Literature review[8]

Overall, very little empirical research was found concerning the social attitudes and opinions of youth sport participants; most studies that were located related only peripherally to our discussion. Studies with a behavioral outcome-oriented, empirical focus have been largely absent or limited in discussions of the social attitudes and opinions of young people involved with athletics. To the extent that such empirical studies exist, they are often limited in focus and generalizability, conflicted in their approach, or simply dated.

Much of the literature focuses on the theorized implications of sport participation for value-based, ethical and social development. Brunelle *et al.* (2007), for example, studied how sport can be used to teach life-skills and pro-social values such as goal-setting, problem solving and positive thinking. They surveyed 100 teenagers before and after participating in a golf and life skills program in order to measure sport's role in encouraging community service participation and positive interpersonal values. They found that after the program, participants exhibited more social interest, responsibility and personal goal knowledge.[9]

In his examination of sport as a carrier of social values, Best (1985) highlights traits theorized to be internalized by athletes, including academic achievement, social skills, physical development, religious faith, self-control, honesty and independence. His survey of 1800 American male high school students found that athletic

participation did not play a distinct role in the formation of social values; athletic participants held the same values as non-participants. Lee *et al.* (2000) conducted a series of studies to develop and test the Youth Sport Values Questionnaire. The authors recognize values such as sportsmanship, fair play, friendship and tolerance in the practice of youth sport and believe individuals learn these values from dominant social groups and through personal experiences. In a test of their instrument, enjoyment and personal achievement were among the most important values and winning among the least.

In the study that most closely resembles ours, Cotter-Smasal (2006) surveyed 68 athletes and 272 non-athletes to compare their political and social attitudes in terms of community, gender and race. She found student athletes to be socially and politically moderate and non-athletes to be only slightly more liberal. Athletes were significantly less interested in politics and social issues than their non-participating peers, and team sport participants were more liberal than individual sport athletes. Other recent work (Cf. Azzarito & Solmon, 2009) has begun to examine the effects of athletic participation on identity development, especially with respect to ideals and ideologies of gender and race.

Previous work has shown sport participation to be linked with traditional views of gender roles and negative attitudes toward homosexuality. Holland and Andre (1995) surveyed a sample of nearly 400 high-school students and found that males involved with sport displayed more masculinity and traditional attitudes toward women than those not involved. Female athletes did not differ from non-athletes in terms of feminity or attitudes toward women, and the aggressiveness of the sport played had no significant influence on attitudes or gender socialization. In a small study of college men, Forbes *et al.* (2006) reported that participation in aggressive sports led to hostility and traditional attitudes toward women and homosexuals and increased levels of dating aggression and sexual coercion.[10]

The consequences of athletic participation for race relations are also discussed in the literature. Slavin and Madden (1979) used survey data from over 2000 fifth and tenth graders in American schools to study school practices that influence race relations. Participants were asked about their interaction with students of other races and attitudes toward them. The authors found that working with or playing on a sports team with classmates of other races were strong predictors of positive interracial behaviors and racial attitudes (and even more beneficial than class work and school discussions about race and minorities). Using the National Education Longitudinal Study, Goldsmith (2004) examined teachers' perceptions of interracial friendliness and students' feelings toward racist remarks and interracial friendships. Integrated extracurricular activities (including sport) are among the factors that were found to encourage interracial friendliness. Goldsmith warns, however, that integration can also increase conflict.[11]

Only a few studies examine the political orientations of student athletes and they are out-dated and limited by their focus on small college populations. Petrie and Reid (1972) tested the notion that college athletes are out of touch with the general college population and hold conservative ideologies. Using scaled measures of conservatism and political orientation in addition to questions about contemporary social issues like violent political demonstration, the political and legal system, women's rights and homosexuality, the authors found no difference in political or global ideologies between team and individual athletes. Rather, most supported liberal viewpoints. This study was limited by its sample size and the lack of a comparable group of non-athletes. The later of these two problems was remedied by Petrie (1977) in a similar study using a population of Canadian college students. Again the political attitudes of the athletes surveyed differed little from those of non-athletes in terms of general conservatism and attitudes toward contemporary social issues. Athletes were found to be mostly liberal—and in regards to some topics, they were even more liberal than non-athletes.

Data and methods

In this paper we aim to gauge the attitudes and opinions of athletes in terms of broad and basic aspects of American society. We do this in order to establish some basic, baseline empirical data with which to further analyze and assess the impact of high school sport participation on social and political attitudes. The design of this study is heuristic and cross-sectional. The data available to us through the MTF limits our ability to make causal claims about the effects of sport on the attitudes and opinions of those who participate. We instead guide our analysis to provide basic descriptive data about a nationally representative sample of high school students who participate in competitive sport. Our research is guided by four component questions:

1. Do athletes and non-athletes differ in their concern about prominent social issues and problems?
2. Do athletes and non-athletes experience equal exposure to peers of other races and have similar attitudes toward race relations?
3. Do athletes perceive gender roles and sex-based discrimination differently than non-athletes?
4. Do the basic political orientations of athletes differ from non-athletes?

According to conservative, individualist and meritocratic conceptions of sport, sport participants should embrace the dominant social attitudes and opinions of society and thus share the sentiments of their non-participating peers in all four categories we investigate. Conceptions of sport as a means for social change and critique would lead one to expect opposite outcomes; athletes should care more about social problems, have more positive feelings toward race relations, express more progressive attitudes toward women and be more liberal leaning than non-athletes. Again, previous studies on these topics have been mixed and uneven generally, though some seem to suggest that athletic participants express levels of concern for social problems similar to those of non-athletes, have positive views of race relations,

have more traditional attitudes toward women (for males) and are only slightly less liberal than peers who do not participate in sport.

The MTF data we examine in this paper comes from the Form 5 Data Codebook for the 2006 survey.[12] 2479 seniors from 136 public and private high schools are included in this nationally representative sample. Table 1 shows the sample population demographics.

Of the 2479 seniors, 1215 (49.0%) of respondents were female, 1156 (46.6%) were male and 108 (4.4%) were missing. Most students were white (61.8%), 10.5% were black, 13.4% were Hispanic and 14.4% did not respond to this question. The socio-economic status (SES) of participants was measured in three tiers and based on the educational attainment of respondents' parents; data were categorized consistent with prior analyses of the data (Johnston *et al.*, 2007). Neither parent had a college degree for 21.8% of the sample (low SES), 46.7% had one parent with a degree (mid SES) and both parents held degrees in 27.9% of the population (high SES). Data with missing values were coded as missing and included in the analysis as categorical covariates. Cases with missing data on the gender variable were excluded from the analysis.

Sport participation was measured by a series of questions asking respondents if they had participated in competitive sports in the past 12 months. School, community and other organized sports were included as settings determining athletic participation. It is important to note that the narrow definition of sports participant as demarcated by affirmative response to these questions can be problematic. Other scholarly conceptions of athlete status utilize variables beyond mere sport participation including intensity and duration of sport participation and self and peer perceived athlete identities. For this study and the basic descriptive conclusions we

Table 1. Sample demographics

		n	%
Gender	Male	1156	46.6
	Female	1215	49.0
	Missing	108	4.4
Race/Ethnicity	White	1532	61.8
	Black	259	10.5
	Hispanic	332	13.4
	Missing	356	14.4
Socioeconomic position (Parent Educational Attainment)	High (Both parents some college)	691	27.9
	Medium (One, not both, parent some college)	1157	46.7
	Low (No parent any college)	541	21.8
	Missing	90	3.6
High school athletic participation	Yes	1226	49.5
	No	1253	50.5

present sport participation alone serves as our benchmark for categorizing students as participants or non-participants. A total of 1226 students (49.5% of the sample) reported that they had participated in one or more organized sports in the past 12 months and 1253 (50.5%) said they had not.

In order to gauge the social attitudes and opinions of those students active in athletics, questions from the MTF survey were grouped into four categories paralleling our main research questions: (1) concern for social problems; (2) racial contact and race relations; (3) sex roles and discrimination; and (4) general political orientation.

The first question set aimed to assess student concern for specific social problems. Respondents were asked to rate how often they worried about general social problems, nuclear war, population growth, crime and violence, pollution, energy shortages, race relations, hunger and poverty, land use, urban decay, economic problems and drug abuse. Their responses were limited to 'never', 'seldom', 'sometimes' and 'often'. The responses were broken out by participation in any sport and gender. The social problems sum variable tallied responses to all the individual items and displayed solid correlation with a Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.84.

The second set of questions concerns racial contact and perceptions of race relations. The survey items asked students how much they got to know people of other races in the context of their schools, neighborhoods, churches, sports teams, clubs and jobs. Participants were also asked to rate the condition of relations between whites and blacks as getting 'better', 'a little better', 'the same', 'a little worse' or 'worse' (our analysis combined responses of 'better' and 'a little better' for an 'improving' view of race relations). A third item examined attitudes toward the unfair treatment of minorities. Again the responses were stratified by participation in any sport and gender. The race sum variable compiled responses of contact with racial others in the settings listed above and respondents' perception of race relations and displayed a Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.71.

The third set probed student attitudes toward women, testing their adherence to traditional sex roles ideologies and belief in gender discrimination. Questions measured attitudes about the independence of daughters and sons, the importance of motherhood in a woman's life and the role of fathers in child rearing and decision making. Response categories were 'disagree', 'mostly disagree', 'neither', 'mostly agree', and 'agree', and responses were grouped into agree/mostly agree vs. other for analysis. Participants were also asked to rate how much they thought women were discriminated against in obtaining college educations, leadership positions, executive business positions, top professional jobs, skilled labor jobs, political office and equal wages. Response categories were 'not at all', 'very little', 'some', 'a good deal' 'a great deal' and 'don't know' and responses were grouped into a good deal/a great deal vs other for analysis. The sample was analyzed by sport participation and gender. The discrimination sum variable compiled responses to the sex discrimination questions and displayed solid correlation with a Cronbach's Alpha score of 0.84.

The fourth set of questions measured students' general political interest and orientation. Students were asked to report how much interest they had in government and current affairs, scaled as 'no interest', 'little interest', 'some interest', 'lots of interest' and 'very great interest'. Respondents were asked to describe their political preferences on a scale of 'strong' and 'mild Republican', 'Independent', 'strong' and 'mild Democrat', 'no preference', 'don't know' and 'other'. When coding for political preference we decided to focus on the two poles most clearly and predominantly represented in American political life. The responses of 'strong and mild Republican' were combined, as were those of 'strong and mild Democrat'. Responses of 'independent', 'no preference', 'other' and 'don't know' were grouped together.

Participants were also asked to rate their political beliefs as 'very conservative', 'conservative', 'moderate', 'liberal', 'very liberal' and 'radical'. Similar coding was used here to focus our analysis on the ideological poles of conservative (responses of 'very conservative' and 'conservative') and liberal (responses of 'very liberal' and 'liberal') political beliefs. Responses of 'moderate' and 'don't know' were combined and 'radical' was examined separately.

Basic cross-tabulations to determine relationships between sport participation and individual variables and χ^2 tests were performed. For grouped variables that exhibited high levels of internal consistency reliability, measured by Cronbach's Alpha, scaled scores were created. This included concern for social problems, racial contact and perception of race relations and belief in sex-based discrimination. Scaled scores combine response values to form a composite on a continuous scale, and linear regression models were conducted to test for differences by athletic participation and gender, adjusting for socioeconomic position. Logistic regression models were conducted to test for differences in views on race relations and a Baron and Kenny Test for mediation (Barron & Kenny, 1986) was conducted to examine whether social contact through sport may mediate views on race relations.

Results

In terms of our initial, most basic question about levels of concern for social problems, our analysis revealed that high school sports participants exhibit levels of concern for social problems equivalent to those reported by other students. These findings are presented in Table 2.

Male sports participants and male non-participants exhibited virtually identical scores on the social problems sum variable; athletic participants showed a mean score of 15.6 and non-athletes 15.4. Female participants and non-participants also expressed largely equal levels of concern for social issues with a mean score of 17.4 for athletes and 17.7 for non-athletes. Slight differences on certain questions did appear between participants and non-participants. For example, males involved in athletics were slightly more likely than their male peers to worry less about land use. Females exhibited a higher level of overall concern for social issues than males that

Table 2. Concern for social issues by gender and sports participation

	Male		Female	
	Athletic participant	Non-participant	Participant	Non-participant
	$n = 692$ (%)	$n = 464$ (%)	$n = 505$ (%)	$n = 710$ (%)
Thinking about social issues[a]	27.4	24.0	24.6†	29.0
Nuclear war	7.2	7.0	7.6	6.7
Population growth	9.3	11.4	9.7	10.2
Crime and violence	22.1	19.8	38.3	39.5
Pollution	10.2	10.3	18.3	17.5
Energy shortages	9.1	10.2	8.9	10.1
Race relations	17.8	16.5	21.5	23.7
Hunger and poverty	11.8	10.0	24.7†	29.1
Open land use	8.0**	13.4	10.7	12.6
Urban decay	5.5	6.0	3.0	4.1
Economic problems	15.1	16.8	15.4	18.0
Drug abuse	19.9†	15.7	34.2	33.1
Concern for Social Issues Scale	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Range (0–37), Cronbach's Alpha = 0.84	15.6 (6.7)	15.4 (7.2)	17.4 (6.6)	17.7 (7.0)

Notes: Often/sometimes vs. seldom/never; Analysis comparing athlete with non-athlete stratified by gender.
[a]Great deal/often/sometimes vs. seldom/never.
Significance level (χ^2): *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; †$p < 0.10$.

was statistically significant. The effect of gender was much stronger than that of sport participation on students' level of concern for social issues.

Our second area of inquiry regarded interracial contact and perceptions of race relations. We found that sports participants have significantly higher levels of contact with students of other races than their non-participant peers, and males involved with competitive high school sport are more likely to view American race relations as improving than non-participants. These results are presented in Table 3.

For males involved in athletics, sport followed school as the setting in which the most contact with people of other races occurred; for female athletic participants, sport followed school and employment. Among male non-sport participants, sport ranked as the third highest context for interracial interaction, preceded by school and employment; for female non-participants, sport was the least important context for such interaction, trumped by school, employment, clubs, neighborhood and church. Sport was, unsurprisingly, a context in which those involved with athletics experienced levels of contact with students of other races significantly higher than those experienced by non-participants; 44.6% of male athletic participants and 36.2% of female participants got to know students of other races 'a lot' in sport, compared to 19.0% of male non-participants and 10.9% of female non-participants. Male sports participants reported significantly more contact with racial others than

Table 3. Proportion of students who had 'a lot' of contact with other races by settings and attitudes about race by athletic status and gender

	Male		Female	
	Athletic participant	Non-participant	Athletic participant	Non-participant
	$n = 692$ (%)	$n = 464$ (%)	$n = 505$ (%)	$n = 710$ (%)
View of race relations				
Better/a little better	67.9***	57.7	69.5	66.1
Same	25.6	31.4	22.4	25.6
A little worse/worse	6.5**	11.0	8.1	8.3
Minority groups get unfair treatment, but that's no business of mine				
Agree	17.7†	22.1	10.7	10.9
Neither	25.6	23.3	15.6	14.7
Disagree	56.8	54.6	73.8	74.4
Contact with students of other races...				
In school	45.6	40.7	43.5	44.5
In your neighbourhood	15.5	14.0	10.4**	15.5
In church	9.1	10.3	12.7	11.3
On sports teams	44.6***	19.0	36.2***	10.9
In clubs	18.4†	13.3	24.4	21.3
On a job	34.0	32.9	36.5	36.8
Contact with other races scale	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)
Range (0–18), Cronbach's Alpha = 0.71	10.0 (4.7)**	7.9 (5.0)	9.7 (4.8)**	8.6 (4.2)

Notes: Analysis comparing athlete with non-athlete stratified by gender.
Significance level (χ^2): *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; †$p < 0.10$.

non-participants over all included settings, with a racial contact scale score mean of 10.0 compared to 7.9 for non-participants. Females involved with sports exhibited a scale score mean of 9.7 which indicates slightly less interracial contact than male participants, but significantly more than female non-participants who had a scale score mean of 8.6.

High levels of racial contact predicted improving views of race relations for males in a variety of settings; 67.9% of male sports participants reported improving views of race relations, while 57.7% of non-participants expressed the same sentiment, a difference significant at the 0.001 level. Male sports participants were also significantly less likely than non-participants to express worsening views, with 6.5% of participants and 11.0% of non-participants feeling that race relations were getting worse. Females who participated in athletics shared similar views on the status of race relations with female non-participants (69.5% and 66.1% respectively reported improving views). For males, sport participation was significantly related

to improving views of race relations. A Baron and Kenny Test for mediation assessed whether or not racial contact through sport mediated the influence of sport participation on views of race relations. A Sobel test for significance found this relationship to be statistically significant. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 1.

Basically, then, getting to know students of other races through sport is significantly associated with improving views of race relations, but only for males. Male athletic participants were slightly less likely than non-participants to feel that the unfair treatment of minorities was none of their business; 17.7% of participants agreed with this sentiment compared with 22.1% of non-participants. No significant differences were noted among females.

The next set of findings speaks to our third research question regarding attitudes toward gender roles and sex-based discrimination. The differences found between sports participants and non-participants are slight and insignificant, yet those between males and females are notable and statistically significant. Female sports participants and non-participants showed significantly less adherence to traditional gender roles and believed in more sex-based discrimination than males. Table 4 presents these findings.

An overwhelming majority of girls (86.6% of sports participants and 87.5% of non-participants) supported equal independence in daughters. Similarly, 72.1% of females who played sports and 69.1% of non-participants believed motherhood to be one of the most fulfilling experiences a woman can have and 77.2% vs. 80.3% thought fathers should spend more time with their children. On the other hand, very few females (7.0% of sport participants vs. 5.7% of non-participants) thought the husband should make all the important decisions in the family. Females exhibited significantly more belief in sex discrimination than males, but were
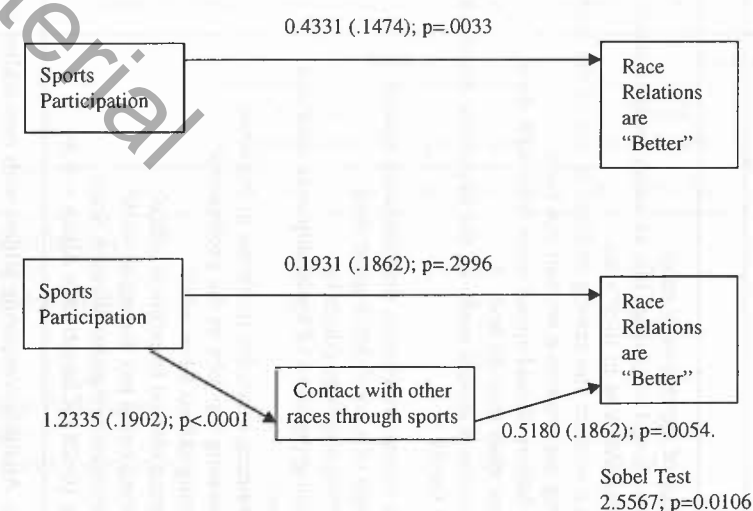

Figure 1. Contact with students of other races as a mediator for male sports participants' views of race relations as improving

Table 4. Views about women by athlete status and gender

		Male		Female	
		Athletic Participant	Non-participant	Athletic Participant	Non-participant
		$n = 692$ (%)	$n = 464$ (%)	$n = 505$ (%)	$n = 710$ (%)
Percentage of agree/mostly agree					
Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons	+	65.8	68.2	86.6	87.5
Being a mother and raising children is one of the most fulfilling experiences a woman can have	+	50.2	49.9	72.1	69.1
Most fathers should spend more time with their children than they do now	+	73.0	75.4	77.2	80.3
The husband should make all the important decisions in the family	+	18.7	18.6	7.0	5.7
To what extent are women discriminated against…					
Percentage of a good deal/a great deal					
In getting a college education	+	4.3	3.3	3.7†	6.0
In gaining positions of leadership over men and women?	+	26.1	28.3	46.8	45.9
In obtaining executive positions in business?	+++	22.3	22.4	39.3	38.5
In obtaining top jobs in the professions?	+++	20.5	18.3	34.8	35.6
In getting skilled labor jobs?	+++	20.4	17.2	29.4	27.9
In getting elected to political office?	+++	33.8	32.1	54.4	57.2
In getting equal pay for equal work?	+++	17.3	18.0	33.6	36.1
Discrimination Against Women Scale	+	Mean (SD) 9.9 (6.6)	Mean (SD) 9.3 (6.6)	Mean (SD) 13.3 (6.7)	Mean (SD) 13.4 (6.5)
Range (0–28), Chronbach's Alpha = 0.84					

Notes: Analysis comparing athlete with non-athlete stratified by gender.
+ significant main effect for gender at $p < 0.01$.
Significance level (χ^2): *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; †$p < 0.10$.

virtually identical in their perception of sex-based discrimination (scale score means of 13.3 for those active in athletics and 13.4 for non-participants).

Male athletic participants and non-participants expressed essentially the same attitudes about gender roles and belief in sex-based discrimination: 65.8% of male sports participants supported equal independence in daughters as compared with 68.2% for non-participants; 50.2% and 49.9% respectively believed motherhood to be one of the most fulfilling experiences a woman can have; 73.0% and 75.4% thought fathers should spend more time with their children; and 18.7% of male sports participants and 18.6% of non-participant males thought the husband should make all the important decisions in the family. Males involved with sports reported very similar levels of discrimination against women to non-participants with discrimination scale score means of 9.9 and 9.3 respectively.

Some significant differences were found regarding our fourth research question concerning the political orientations of athletes and non-athletes. Table 5 details these findings.

Males and females in this sample leaned slightly to the political right, with males slightly more likely to do so than females. Female sports participants were significantly more likely than non-participant females to claim a Republican political affiliation (and significantly less likely to align with the Democratic Party), but male participants tended to express political preferences and beliefs slightly more frequently than male non-participants. There were no differences between athletic participants and non-participants in reporting of moderate political beliefs.

Among males, 20.9% of athletic participants and 18.6% of non-participants identified themselves as conservatives with 15.5% and 17.9% respectively self-identified as liberals; 28.2% of male sports participants and 25.7% of male

Table 5. Political orientation by athlete status and gender

	Male		Female	
	Athletic participant	Non-participant	Athletic participant	Non-participant
	$n = 692$ (%)	$n = 464$ (%)	$n = 505$ (%)	$n = 710$ (%)
Political Identification				
Conservative	20.9	18.6	19.4†	15.5
Moderate/don't know	61.1	61.3	61.1	63.0
Liberal	15.5	17.9	18.9	20.3
Radical	2.5	2.2	0.6	1.2
Political Party Preference				
Republican	28.2	25.7	28.0***	19.1
Independent/no preference/other	49.2	52.9	51.4	53.1
Democrat	22.6	21.4	20.5**	27.8

Significance level (χ^2): *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; †$p < 0.10$.

non-participants expressed a Republican Party preference with 22.6% and 21.4% preferring the Democratic Party. Among females, the differences in political orientation were more distinct, especially in terms of party preference. While 19.4% of female sports participants and 15.5% of non-participants identified themselves as conservatives, 18.9% and 20.3% respectively self-identified as liberals; 28.0% of females involved with sports expressed a Republican Party preference as compared with 19.1% of female non-participants, a difference significant at the 0.001 level.

Discussion

The preceding data and analysis show that high school sports participants generally express social attitudes and opinions that are moderate and mirror those of non-participants of the same gender. However, in some areas students involved with athletics do express unique views. For example, one's concern for social problems appears to differ by gender, and participating in sports appears to increase contact with peers of other races For Male athletes, this contact is related to improving views of American race relations. Again, gender, not sport participation plays a defining role in attitudes and opinions about gender roles and sex discrimination. Sport participation is also associated with Republican political orientations, but only for females. What do these results suggest about the political functions of sport, especially as they relate to various popular theories and claims about the impact and value of high school sports participation?

While complicated social problems like poverty, urban decay and crime affect some youth on a personal basis, they can often seem, and perhaps be, concerns distant to most high school seniors' routine interactions in school, extracurricular activities, at home and among peers. Most schools have some socia Issue-oriented organizations like chapters of Amnesty International, Gay-Straight Alliances or anti-war groups, and even though these pale in popularity and visibility to sports teams, athlete participants do not differ from non-participants in levels of concern for social issues. Perhaps a sociology or civics course would influence greater concern for social issues than a football season. These equal levels of concern provide no evidence for theories that sport can influence criticism of existing social systems and encourage social change. This finding does lend support to dominant ideology theories that claim sports express and perhaps 'reinforce the values of the wider culture' (Simon, 1991, p. 16).

We found that sports participants interact with peers of other races more than non-participants. Furthermore, male participants express more improving views of race relations when they get to know people of other races through sport participation. Sport provides a unique context for students of different races to get to know one another by working together toward shared goals, an opportunity that may not be as influential in other settings. Since sport was found to be a primary setting for interaction with peers of other races, those who participate may have their personal experiences in this setting inform their opinion of race relations in greater American society. When asked about their concern for race relations and the unfair treatment of minorities (that appeal to attitudes toward social groups rather than individuals), male sports participants expressed the same opinions as male non-participants. It appears then that for male participants, personal and presumably positive relationships developed in the context of sport participation are reflected in improving or positive views of race relations. Sport seems to serve (or contribute to) some kind of a social change function here; however, it appears to operate on a personal level and does not carry over to concern about race relations or the unfair treatment of minorities.

Any association that sport has relative to traditional gender roles and belief in sex discrimination is slight; male sports participants hold generally the same opinions about women as non-participants, and among females the similarities are even more noteworthy. While males did hold significantly more traditional sex role ideologies and saw significantly less sex-based discrimination than females, males involved with sports did not differ from non-participants in their attitudes toward women. Our findings do not concur with literature that has shown sport to encourage sexist attitudes amongst males and benefit positive social development among females. In fact, these findings cut somewhat counter to views of sport as a vehicle for social change in that sport participation does not encourage more progressive attitudes toward women among males *or* females.

Female sport participants in this study are more likely than non-participants to claim a Republican preference, yet males expressed similar political attitudes regardless of athletic participation. These findings suggest that athletic participants do not seek political or social change, but rather align themselves with the established political order. Some theory claims that sport can impart dominant and conservative values including competition, individualism and social Darwinism, common values associated with Republicans and conservativism. This may help to explain the leanings of sport participants to the political right. Sport participants experience social Darwinism in the process of trying out for athletic teams, where only the best athletes earn a spot on the varsity squad or make a team at all. Furthermore, students who play sports can be pressured by coaches, parents, teammates and classmates to win (influences that may compound or contradict the pressure to earn high marks, which non-participants may also experience). For some high school participants a desire to secure college sports scholarships can further a competitive attitude and a drive to stand out as a sports star. The fact that only female participants exhibited political orientations significantly different from non-participants requires further investigation.

In each of the four categories we examined, gender emerged as a defining factor (in many cases better able to predict attitudes and opinions than sport participation). Females expressed more liberal and progressive views than males in most areas; they expressed more concern for social problems, showed less adherence to traditional gender roles, believed in more sex-based discrimination and leaned slightly more to the political left than males. Whereas contact with racial others through sport

participation explained male athletes' improving views of American race relations, the same could not be said for females. Why do we see these gender differences? It is likely that social attitudes and opinions are more effectively transmitted through gender socialization than socialization through sport and perhaps there are important differences in the way that sport is practiced by males and females. Gender socialization may set up males and females to have different experiences with sport that are then reflected in their social attitudes. Further research is required to flesh out these important gender differences.

Conclusion

Discussions of the influence of sport participation on youth and adolescent perspectives on the social world have been characterized by conflicting theoretical assumptions, mixed findings and limited empirical evidence. This exploratory study tests the attitudes and opinions of high school students who do and do not participate in sports in order to contribute empirical evidence to this dialog. Our analysis finds support for both conservative and social change visions of sport and provides evidence that athletes both share and stray from the dominant social attitudes and opinions of their peer group. Young people in our sample expressed similar levels of concern for social problems and shared sentiments toward gender roles and sex-based discrimination regardless of athletic participation. However, some significant differences between sports participants and non-participants were found in the areas of interracial contact, views of race relations and political orientation. These differences were also gender-specific; sport participation influenced only males' positive views of race relations, and only female sport participants exhibited a significant tendency to claim a Republican affiliation (males expressed similar political orientations whether they engaged in organized sport or not).

This research has several limitations. Our measure of sport participation is far from perfect. This study offers only a brief snapshot of attitudes and opinions; longitudinal studies that track youth throughout the life course would provide a broader view of social and political attitudes and could account for changes in type and level of sport participation. More comprehensive sport participation measures have looked at the type and intensity of sport, character of athletic program and school and parent and coach involvement. These areas deserve continued investigation with larger studies that can provide more accurate and fine-grained measures of athlete involvement. Drawbacks to the sports participant and non-participant dichotomy (McCormack & Chalip, 1988) should also be considered, along with the potential and likely effects of self-selection. We must also ask if sport fosters certain attitudes and opinions, or if youth who hold certain views gravitate toward sports.

Furthermore, young people who typically participate in sports are generally from wealthier, more educated and more privileged families (Fejgin, 1994). SES, which was controlled for here, is a common confounder for statistical relationships. While

the sample used was nationally representative, it focused exclusively on high school seniors, neglecting all younger sport participants. Moreover, a larger sample size would allow for further stratification within the data analysis and could add strength to some of our findings. For example, one could examine subgroups of athletes, perhaps looking for differences between team and individual sport participants or between sports or types of sport (team vs. individual, aggressive vs. non-aggressive).

The attitudinal consequences of sport participation both uphold dominant ideology and encourage social change. While our findings do bolster claims that sport more often functions to reinforce dominant ideology and existing conditions than it does to encourage social change (in that, with a few significant exceptions, athletes and non-athletes expressed the same social attitudes and opinions), on a deeper level, they suggest the relationship between sport participation and athlete attitudes to be far more complex than a 'one way or the other' influence. It is this complexity that requires continued and further empirical investigation. We must keep in mind that other factors like gender, race, class and community context are strong forces and influence youth and their views of the social world.

Further work should aim to articulate the contextual complexities (when, where and for whom) of social attitudes and opinions as they exist among different kinds of athletes and explore the role of sport participation in the presence of certain attitudes and opinions among athletes. Considering the level of diversity in which youth sport is performed (not to mention in school and community contexts), looking more completely at the American ethnic and racial mosaic could provide a better understanding of the attitudes that may be learned through different forms of sport participation.

Notes

1. Sabo et al. (2004); Sabo et al. (1999); Smoll et al. (1993); Sabo et al. (2005); Miller et al. (2008); Darling et al. (2005).
2. Marsh (1993); Marsh and Kleitman (2003); Crosnoe (2002) Miller et al. (2005).
3. Eitle et al. (2003).
4. Ewing (2007); Smith (1999); Perks (2007).
5. Research into the social consequences of sport participation has been conflicting in terms of healthy lifestyles (Wankel & Kreisel, 1985; Martens, 1993; Nelson & Wecksler, 2001; Crosnoe, 2002; Eitle et al., 2003); education and academic achievement (Eitle & Eitle, 2002); delinquency and deviance (Sokol-Katz et al., 2006; Miller et al. 2007; Coakley, 2002); and later life attainment, social mobility and civic participation (Howell et al., 1984; Ewing, 1995; Barron et al., 2000).
6. It is important to note that this paper examines social attitudes rather than social values, although we recognize that the former is often an expression of the latter. For Lee et al. (2000) for example, attitudes are dispositions to a given object or situation whereas values are the overlying lattice guiding these orientations. Much of the previous literature has focused on theory and values, and fails to empirically explore if and how they are actually reflected in the social attitudes and opinions of athletic participants and how this could inform an understanding of the social functions of sport (Cf. McCormack & Chalip, 1988).
7. Johnston et al. (2006).

8. The search was conducted over the course of three months through a variety of electronic and library databases including Sport Discus, Sociological Abstracts, ERIC, ISI Web of Knowledge, and Google Scholar (further resources were located with the help of the LA '84 Foundation). The review aims to probe the dearth in research concerning social and political attitudes, illustrating the significance and necessity of contributions to this neglected area of youth sport studies.
9. See also Goudas and Giannoudisa (2008).
10. See also Harry (1995).
11. See also Khmelkov and Hallinan (1999) and Moody (2001).
12. Data are available for public access from the Inter University Consortium on Political and Social Research (http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/).

References

Azzarito, L. & Solmon, M. A. (2009) An investigation of students' embodied discourses in physical education: a gender project, *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education*, 28, 173–191.

Barron, J. M., Ewing, B. T. & Waddell, G. R. (2000) The effects of high school athletic participation on education and labor market outcomes, *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 82(3), 409–421.

Barron, R. M. & Kenny, D. A. (1986) The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations, *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(6), 1173–1182.

Best, C. (1985) Differences in social values between athletes and nonathletes, *Research Quarterly for Exercise & Sport*, 56, 366–369.

Brunelle, J., Danish, S. J. & Forneris, T. (2007) The impact of a sport-based life-skill program on adolescent prosocial values, *Applied Developmental Science*, 11(1), 43–55.

Coakley, J. (2002) Using sports to control deviance and violence among youths: let's be critical and cautious, in: M. Gatz, M. Messner & S. J. Ball-Rokeach (Eds) *Paradoxes of youth and sport* (Albany, NY, SUNY Press), 13–30.

Coakley, J. (1993) Sport and socialization, *Exercise and Sport Science Reviews*, 21(1), 169–200.

Crosnoe, R. (2002) Academic and health-related trajectories in adolescence: the intersection of gender and athletics, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 43(3), 317–335.

Cotter-Smasal, M. 2006. *An Examination of the Social and Political Attitudes of College Student-Athletes*, M. S. Education Thesis Old Domain University, Norfolk, VA.

Darling, N., Caldwell, L. L. & Smith, R. (2005) Participation in school-based extracurricular activities and adolescent adjustment, *Journal of Leisure Research*, 37(1), 51–76.

Eitle, D., Turner, R. J. & Eitle, T. M. (2003) The deterrence hypothesis reexamined: sports participation and substance use among young adults, *Journal of Drug Issues*, 33(1), 193–221.

Eitle, T. M. & Eitle, D. J. (2002) Race, cultural capital, and the educational effects of participation in sports, *Sociology of Education*, 75(2), 123–146.

Eitzen, S. & Sage, G. (1978) *Sociology of American sport* (Dubuque, IA, Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers).

Ewing, B. T. (2007) The labor market effects of high school athletic participation evidence from wage and fringe benefit differentials, *Journal of Sports Economics*, 8(3), 255–265.

Ewing, B. T. (1995) High school athletics and the wages of black males, *Review of Black Political Economy*, 24(1), 67–81.

Fejgin, N. (1994) Participation in high school competitive sports: a subversion of school mission or contribution to academic goals? *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 11(3), 211–230.

Forbes, G. B., Adams-Curtis, L. E., Pakalka, A. H. & White, K. B. (2006) Dating aggression, sexual coercion, and aggression-supporting attitudes among college men as a function of participation in aggressive high school sports, *Violence Against Women*, 12(5), 441–455.

Goudas, M. & Giannoudisa, G. (2008) A team-sports-based life-skills program in a physical education context, *Learning and Instruction*, 18(6), 528–536.

Harry, J. (1995) Sports ideology, attitudes toward women, and anti-homosexual attitudes, *Sex Roles: A Journal of Research*, 32(1–2), 109–116.

Holland, A. & Andre, T. (1995) Relationship of sport participation to sex role orientation and attitudes toward women among high school males and females, *Journal of Sport Behavior*, 18(4), 241–254.

Howell, F., Miracle, A. & Rees, C. R. (1984) Do high school athletics pay? The effects of varsity participation on socioeconomic attainment, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 1, 15–25.

Johnston, L. D., Bachman, J. G., O'Malley, P. M. & Schulenberg, J. E. (2006) *Monitoring the future: a continuing study of American youth* (University of Michigan, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research).

Johnston, L. D., O'Malley, P. M., Bachman, J. & Schulenberg, J. E. (2007) *Monitoring the future: national results on adolescent drug use: overview of key findings, 2006* (NIH Publication No. 07-6202) (Bethesda, MD, National Institute on Drug Abuse).

Khmelkov, V. T. & Hallinan, M. T. (1999) Organizational effects on race relations in schools, *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(4), 627–645.

Kleiber, D. A. & Roberts, G. C. (1981) The effects of sport experience in the development of social character: an exploratory investigation, *Journal of Sport Psychology*, (2), 114–122.

Lee, M., Whitehead, J. & Balchin, N. (2000) The measurement of values in youth sport: development of the youth sport values questionnaire, *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 22(4), 307–326.

Marsh, H. W. & Kleitman, S. (2003) School athletic participation: mostly gain with little pain, *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology*, 25(2), 205–228.

Marsh, H. W. (1993) The effects of participation in sport during the last two years of high school, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 10(1), 18–43.

Martens, R. (1993) Psychological perspectives, in: B. R. Cahill & A. J. Pearl (Eds) *Intensive participation in children's sports* (Champaign, IL, Human Kinetics), 9–19.

McCormack, J. B. & Chalip, L. (1988) Sport as socialization: a critique of methodological premises, *Social Sciences Journal*, 25(1), 83–92.

Miller, D. N., Gilman, R. & Martens, M. P. (2008) Wellness promotion in the schools: enhancing students' mental and physical health, *Psychology in the Schools*, 45(1), 5–15.

Miller, K. E., Melnick, M. J., Barnes, G. M., Sabo, D. & Farrell, M. P. (2007) Athletic involvement and adolescent delinquency, *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 36(5), 711–723.

Miller, K. E., Melnick, M. J., Barnes, G. M., Farrell, M. P. & Sabo, D. (2005) Untangling the links among athletic involvement, gender, race, and adolescent academic outcomes, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 22(2), 178–196.

Moody, J. (2001) Race, school integration, and friendship segregation in America, *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(3), 679–717.

Nelson, T. F. & Wechsler, H. (2001) Alcohol and college athletes, *Medical Science Sports Exercise*, 33(1), 43–47.

Perks, T. (2007) Does sport foster social capital? The contribution of sport to a lifestyle of community participation, *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 24(4), 378–401.

Petrie, B. M. (1977) Examination of a stereotype: athletes as conservatives, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 12(3), 51–62.

Petrie B. M. & Reid E. L. 1972. The Political Attitudes of Canadian Athletes, Paper presenred at *Fourth Canadian Psycho-Motor and Suport Psychology Symposium*, Waterloo, Canada, October. (ERIC Database: ED 083235; OCLC: 425132141.).

Sabo, D., Miller, K. E., Melnick, M. J., Farrell, M. P. & Barnes, G. M. (2005) High school athletic participation and adolescent suicide, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40(1), 5–23.

Sabo, D., Miller, K. E., Melnick, M. J. & Heywood, L. (2004) *Her life depends on it: sport, physical activity and the health and well-being of American girls* (East Meadow, NY, Women's Sport Foundation).

Sabo, D. F., Miller, K. E., Farrell, M. P., Melnick, M. J. & Barnes, G. M. (1999) High school athletic participation, sexual behavior and adolescent pregnancy: a regional study, *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 25(3), 207–216.

Simon, R. L. (2003) Sports, relativism, and moral education, in: J. Boxill (Ed.) *Sports ethics: an anthology* (Malden, MA, Blackwell).

Simon, R. L. (1991) *Fair play: sports, values, and society* (Boulder, CO, Westview Press), 15–28.

Slavin, R. & Madden, N. (1979) School practices that improve race relations, *American Educational Research Journal*, 16(2), 169–180.

Smith, E. S. (1999) The effects of investments in the social capital of youth on political and civic behavior in young adulthood: a longitudinal analysis, *Political Psychology*, 20(3), 553–580.

Smoll, F. L., Smith, R. E., Barnett, N. P. & Everett, J. J. (1993) Enhancement of children's self-esteem through social support training for youth sport coaches, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 78(4), 602–610.

Sokol-Katz, J., Kelley, M. S., Basinger-Fleischman, L. & Braddock, J. H., II. (2006) Re-examining the relationship between interscholastic sport participation and delinquency: type of sport matters, *Sociological Focus*, 39(3), 173–192.

Wankel, L. M. & Kreisel, P. S. J. (1985) Factors underlying enjoyment of youth sport: sport and age group comparisons, *Journal of Sport Psychology*, 7(1), 51–64.

Book reviews

The ethics of sport coaching

Alun R. Hardman & Carwyn Jones (Eds), 2011
London, Routledge, Taylor & Francis
£24.99 (pbk), 226 pp.
ISBN13 978-0-415-55775-7

As a coach educator, I have tried for years to legitimise ethics as an essential topic for the development of sport coaches in university and coach education curriculums. *The ethics of sport coaching*, edited by Alun Hardman and Carwyn Jones, provides such a legitimisation through a useful, provocative resource for undergraduate and postgraduate students. They have commendably gathered a number of well-renowned ethics, philosophy and sport researchers to address the subject from a range of discourses. The book is divided into four quite unique parts in an admirable attempt to systematically address the concepts of ethics for sport coaches, first defining the nature of coaching and the character of the coach, then discussing coaching for specific populations and coaching in current contexts.

The nature of sport coaching examined in Part I offers a somewhat narrow perspective and reflection about the complexity of sport coaching. I was disappointed in the limited attention given to the authentic contextual critical analysis of what a sport coach is or does. Throughout the first parts, there are assumptions made and examples given of sport coaching within the realms of sport science disciplines (including traditional practices of learning techniques), with little acknowledgement or understanding of the recent shift for coaches to be more educational focused (Lombardo, 1987; Jones, 2006; Cassidy *et al.*, 2009; Kidman & Lombardo, 2010; Jones *et al.*, 2011). This shift is initially acknowledged in Chapter 1 by Sigmund Loland, where he addresses the need for an holistic approach to train athletes, but the focus of most of the nature of sport coaching ethics discussion is from a contemporary *competitive* sport perspective which largely overlooks the educational intent to develop athletes.

The first few chapters provide sound critical analyses of philosophical discourses of ethics and moral development as relevance for contemporary competitive coaching. I believe the essence of how our highly competitive athletes train and learn is embedded in the social construction of their holistic development from youngsters when they experience a range of coaches and are exposed to a range of ethical situations. These first chapters do not engage with the pedagogical discourse or research of the essence of coaching as means to enable athletes to develop and learn. The examples and contexts, therefore, lack in the intent in the act of coaching as a real educational value that develops embodied intelligences (although Chapter 7 has an excellent discussion of this concept) of children. Surely the impact of ethical